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ABSTRACT

This review of research on recent refugees to the United States focuses on the Indochinese, Haitians and Cubans. An introduction stresses the need for more information to enhance a better understanding of the newcomers. Succeeding sections review published literature on: (1) the development of Federal policy concerning refugees, emphasizing the difference in policy requirements for the earlier Soviet/East European refugees and those for the new group of refugees; (2) the new refugees' cultural backgrounds, especially as these affect resettlement; (3) aspects of the refugee experience, particularly the circumstances surrounding their flight from their countries; (4) transition experiences and refugee camp conditions; (5) experience in the new culture, culture shock, and orientation programs; (6) educational policy and programs; (7) employment and sociocultural adjustment; and finally, (8) problems in emotional adjustment and solutions to adjustment problems. (MJL)

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THE UNITED STATES' NEW REFUGEES

A Review of the Research on the Resettlement of Indochinese, Cubans, and Haitians

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to offer administrators and policy makers in education and other human services an introduction to the research on the resettlement of recent refugees to the United States. In contrast to immigrants who *chose* to move to a new land to seek a better life, refugees are people who are *pushed* from behind by persecution or other political pressures. Traditionally, they have often been the elite in their own land. The focus of this paper is on Indochinese, Haitians, and Cubans. These are people whom Stein (1980b) has called "the new refugees," because, in contrast to refugees who have traditionally come to the United States, they are from underdeveloped, Third World countries. Culturally and economically, these new refugees differ from us more than previous large groups. Thus their adaptation presents new challenges, both to them and to the people of our country.

In this paper I attempt simultaneously to evaluate the existing research and to note its omissions, and to describe some of the hypotheses on which policy may begin to be created. Although the first Vietnamese arrived in the United States in 1975, a mere six years ago, and other Indochinese groups have come more recently, there are already hundreds of documents, both of a practical and a research nature, for dealing with these newcomers. Guides for teachers, service and funding agencies, community studies, and even reviews of the research and annotated bibliographies are now available. In the case of the 1980 Mariel wave of Cuban refugees, as well as Haitian refugees, materials are far more scant. Time is a severe limitation with the 1980 wave of Cubans. But, equally important, the ambiguous legal status of both the Haitians and this recent group of Cubans has inhibited serious research and made the existing documents more partisan than is the case with legally sanctioned refugees. Thus my analyses are more richly provided by data on the Indochinese than the Cubans and Haitians.

As this paper indicates, the very definition of a refugee may have to be rethought, given the changing pressures on the United States to absorb people from poor and politically repressive Third World regimes. There is also a need for a much more thorough understanding of the cultural background, as well as the refugee experience, of the newcomers. Refugees who have come directly from their country to the United States—that is, for whom the United States was their country of "first asylum," were placed in camps here for processing and initial introduction. Others have spent as much as three or four years in refugee camps in Southeast Asia or the Philippines. In either case, although the literature is scant, there are indications that this camp experience also has its long-range effects on refugees, and that improvements could be in-

stituted to make the experience both shorter and more humane. The "scatter policy" initiated by the federal government to avoid hardship on any single community by dispersing Indochinese throughout the country has generally been deemed a failure, as the refugees themselves have moved on, in what is termed "secondary migrations," to form their own ethnic enclaves in a few cities. Moreover, one of the most consistent findings of the refugee research has been the importance of community in the refugees' capacity to establish self-help networks, redefine goals for themselves, and find creative ways to cope with their own emotional problems stemming from flight and assimilation.

Finally, a 1981 survey of the needs of local service providers to refugees yielded the not surprising information that these individuals had two pressing needs: "better access to knowledge about what information exists and better access to the actual documents and sources themselves" (Frankel and Langlois, 1981). Although widely accessible information systems such as ERIC are beginning to acquire documents relating to the characteristics and needs of refugees, the aim of this paper is to summarize and give meaning to the important findings about Indochinese, Cuban, and Haitian refugees currently available.

II. Federal Policy toward Refugees

> The choices available to U.S. policymakers are diverse and complex; each set of choices involves a different array of international and domestic implications, and each is characterized by a set of distinctive differences of opinion and political constraints.... The present incoherence of policy has its political attractions, since it leaves difficult value choices inexplicit, allows the most committed interest groups to pursue their interests unimpeded, and yet avoids explicit endorsement of their aims which might offend the majority of the electorate. (Teitelbaum, 1980, p. 48.)

The twentieth century may well be looked back upon as an era of forced exile and refugee movement. In the first 80 years of the twentieth century, more than 100 million people fled their homelands to seek political and economic asylum (Beyer, 1981). In 1980 alone, 16 million people were refugees (Brandel, 1980). However, comparatively few ever reached our shores. Instead, 15.7 million—almost all—were leaving homes in developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and nearly 90% of these individuals were being resettled within their Third World continents. Less than 1 million refugees were received by the United States and other developed (largely Western European) countries between 1975 and 1980, and most were from the Soviet Union, East Europe, Cuba, and Southeast Asia. A smattering came from Chile, Tibet, Algeria, and Zimbabwe (Brandel, 1980; *Focus*, 1980/1981). Although voices of discontent in the United States expressed the view that refugees were putting a strain on such resources as employment, housing, and welfare, as of May 1981, the United States had taken in a total of 493,000 Indochinese refugees over the preceding six years, 121,000 Cubans in 1980 (800,000 since the beginning of the Castro regime), and a mere 7,000 Haitians as legal refugees (*Refugee Reports*, 7/24/81).

Our country has often been called a nation of immigrants. In fact, its origins are more accurately described as a land of refugees, for Puritans and Quakers, fleeing British persecution, were among our first settlers. Until 1895, the United States' sole immigration policy was to let in anyone who arrived on our shores. Thus refugees from the European revolutions of 1830 and 1848 arrived along with those immigrants who came to seek a better life.

Between 1875 and 1929, certain categories of foreigners were barred for the first time; and in 1921 the country passed its first country-of-

origin laws, which established both a limit on the total number of immigrants and a system for favoring immigrants from northern and western European nations over those from southern and eastern Europe, and making it next to impossible for people from Asia to enter. As late as 1945, no special legal category was set for refugees, with the result that many Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler did not qualify under the country-of-origin immigrant quotas and so were not given asylum. However, in late 1945, with the pressure of an estimated 30 million displaced persons in Europe, President Truman issued a directive that enabled the U.S. consular officials to give preference to refugees over nonrefugees within the existing country-of-origin quota system.

In 1948, 1953, and 1967, Congress enacted short-term measures to admit refugees who could not have come to the United States under the existing system. Parole authority was another vehicle used to gain flexibility in this 20-year period. A parole is a tentative ruling by an Immigration Naturalization Service (INS) officer that a person may enter the United States. American presidents, acting through their attorneys-general, frequently used their powers as administrators of the immigration laws to parole refugees into the nation. Of the 38,000 Hungarian refugees who arrived from 1956 to 1957, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was used for a mere 6,500, and parole authority was applied to all the rest. Parole authority was also used for a large part of the Cuban refugees who began arriving in the United States in waves starting in 1958 and totaled between 700,000 and 750,000 by 1975, the remainder being admitted as "(nonimmigrant) visitors" who were ultimately allowed to extend their stay indefinitely.

Soviet and East European refugees have always entered Austria, Italy, or France as their country of first asylum; and it is in the context of their safety there that U.S. immigration officials make their decisions. Generally, these refugees have strong educational backgrounds and good job skills, and while in the 1950s and early 1960s there was some selectivity, in recent years virtually all have been admitted to this country. The arrival of Cuban refugees directly on the Florida shores throughout the early 1960s created a new situation for immigration officials, one that has cropped up again with the recent influx of Indochinese, Cubans, and Haitians. The Cubans fleeing Castro came to the United States as their country of first asylum, and it was in the United States that they wished to stay. Although their educational backgrounds and skills were not necessarily what the country needed, there was much more pressure to accept all who arrived, and not to use the high standards for selections heretofore made with refugees.

In 1965, hoping to do away with the ad hoc nature of parole authority, the United States passed its first legislation to provide for accepting refugees on a continuing basis. The 1965 Immigration Amendments allowed for a "normal flow" of just over 10,000 refugees annually, but defined these individuals narrowly as those fleeing persecution due to

race, religion, or political opinon in "any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area" or "any country within the general area of the Middle East" (quoted in Taft et al., 1979). For the next several years, the act was used largely to admit refugees from East Europe.

The Cold War bias of the 1965 Immigration Amendments can be contrasted with the more neutral and generous definition of a political refugee adopted by the United Nations as early as 1951. According to the United Nations, a refugee is

> Any person, who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his normal habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to return to it. (Quoted in Taft et al., 1979)

There are critics who increasingly argue against a definition of refugees that excludes flight for economic reasons, such as flood or famine. The distinction between political and economic motivation is particularly problematic in the Third World, where sudden natural disasters or dire scarcity can touch off political persecution. Still, this distinction has been used in recent years by those who would curtail our admission of Haitians and Indochinese. As some argue, many or most individuals from these areas are more "economic migrants" than "political refugees." In any case, the emphasis on political persecution continues to be the internationally accepted standard for determining refugees.

The difficulties with the 1965 Immigration Amendments became clear almost from their inception. First, since the preference system was limited to the Eastern Hemisphere, the great surge of Cuban refugees following the 1965 airlift were ineligible and still had to enter the United States as parolees. Parole was also used increasingly to expedite the entry of Soviet and other East European refugees, who far outnumbered the "normal flow" granted under the act. And it had to be used for those still in the country of oppression (e.g., Soviet Jews), as well as those fleeing persecution by right-wing dictatorships. Nor could the amendments be applied to those who claimed asylum only after arriving on our shores.

The need for a larger, more expansive refugee act became evident as thousands of Vietnamese and other Indochinese began to flee their countries at the time of the American evacuation in 1975. Certainly their numbers were beyond anything anticipated. Moreover, these "new refugees" also left their homelands in enormous groups, traveled in precarious ways, landed on the shores of already overcrowded countries, and created tremendous international pressure for safe resettlement. Their backgrounds were also more culturally different from ours than

any previous large wave of immigrants. Many had been educated in Western, urban ways (particularly those who had worked with the French or Americans) and had professional training that could translate into good jobs in the United States; but more came from peasant, even preliterate cultures, whose daily life and values were completely unlike ours. For almost all, English was a great problem. Thus their capacity to become immediately economically and socially self-sufficient could not be relied upon. Nor could fellow countryfolk be asked to give their support, as was the tradition with other refugee groups, since a negligible number were established in the country. The resettling of refugees had for many years been largely in the hands of voluntary agencies. The Cuban refugee problem of the 1960s had demanded increased federal participation; the Indochinese demanded still more federal intervention.

The Refugee Act of 1980 established both a uniform policy of refugee admissions to this country and a domestic policy for resettlement assistance. The new act essentially followed the United Nations definition of a refugee, thus eliminating the earlier emphasis on those fleeing communism. The act also designated an annual flow of 50,000 refugees until 1982, after which the number was to be determined by the president. Procedures were to be developed for aliens already present in the country seeking asylum. Finally, in acknowledgment of the ongoing nature of the refugee problem worldwide, and of the United States's responsibilities, a U.S. Coordinator of Refugee Affairs was to be designated and an Office of Refugee Resettlement established within the Department of Health and Human Services.

The Refugee Act of 1980 attempted to continue the tradition of cooperation between government and voluntary agencies in refugee resettlement. Grants for the process of initial resettlement could be made to the voluntary agencies, who would be in charge of finding sponsors for refugees in the camps and seeing to it that they worked toward self-sufficiency once they were in their new locale. But provision was also made for direct cash and medical assistance to be provided by the states to newly arrived refugees, as well as for supportive services to be funded through discretionary grants and contracts.

The Refugee Act of 1980 was passed in March. "Boat people" from Haiti had been arriving illegally on our shores in search of asylum for some time. But U.S. foreign policy was "in direct competition" with a human rights policy here, and despite much evidence of a brutal political regime, the INS had never been able to decide that Haitians were facing political persecution, rather than being " 'just poor people come here to work' " (Schey, 1980; *Haitian Refugee Project Newsletter*, 1981). (The either/or decision in this case is particularly ironic, since Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere, at the same time as the Duvalier regimes are renowned for their brutality.) Spring 1980 brought 125,000 Cuban "boat people" of the Mariel exodus to seek first asylum in the United States. And by June 20, 1980, fear of creating precedent for

millions of Caribbean and Latin American people who might seek asylum here prompted the government to throw aside the long-sought rationality of a uniform refugee policy (*World Refugee Survey*, 1981). Instead, the category "Cuban/Haitian Entrant (Status Pending)" was invented, and a largely parallel, but separately administered, ad hoc apparatus was established to facilitate the resettlement of these Caribbean peoples. This decision to create an ad hoc category "was soon to haunt" the Administration, as "confused lines of authority and bureaucratic conflict were immediate and continuing consequences" (Schwarz, 1981).

III. Cultural Background of the New Refugees

> There is a tendency to view all refugees from a given country or region as a homogeneous group, to label them all Cubans or Indochinese and not to look beyond the label. Most refugee groups, however, are subdivided into many waves and vintages that may differ greatly, have different experiences, and may even be hostile to one another. (Stein, 1980b)

For many Americans, Indochina may fade into a homogeneous distant place. Yet considering those Indochinese who have fled from their homeland to the United States, there are Vietnamese of various social classes, some originally from the North; Chinese from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (each with the slight differences their country created); Cambodians, Lao; Hmong, who lived in the highlands of Vietnam and Laos; and a smaller number of Lao-Teung, Thai Damn, and other ethnically distinct groups (Coleman, 1980a; Barnes, 1977). Over 20 languages are represented. The customs of marriage, childbirth, death, and other life cycles all vary (Van Deusen et al., 1981). Although most Indochinese are Buddhists, Buddhism itself is not homogeneous throughout the area, nor is it exclusive with being a Taoist and a Confucianist. In South Vietnam, 10% were Catholics; and the result of French and American missionaries among the Hmong since 1956 is that half are Catholics, while the other half are still animists in their religious beliefs (Van Deusen et al.; 1981; *IRR*, May 7, 1980).

One area of similarity among Indochinese, that has caused some difficulty in resettlement, is the extent and strength of their kin ties. Throughout Southeast Asia, kinship extends into areas that we do not normally think of as related, such as economics, politics, and religion. The household itself is extended and might include several generations, as well as clusters of brothers and their families. Despite their last-minute exodus from Vietnam, the first Vietnamese refugees to arrive in the United States managed to come with a remarkably large number of kin, some in family groups as large as 30 individuals (Liu and Murata,

1977b). Placing such families was difficult in a country used to four-person families. It meant a greater strain on sponsors' resources, and it created housing problems. Although Vietnamese were often willing to sleep several to a bedroom, many rentals regulate the number of persons able to use the space. A partial solution, taken by most large Vietnamese families, has been to buy their own home (Haines, 1981).

Kinship ties among the Hmong, stronger than among any other Indochinese group, have also generated their own particular genre of difficulties. No effort by sponsors to create pleasant, but scattered, small family units has been able to prevent secondary migrations of Hmong to half a dozen cities, which now house over 2,000 Hmong, Minneapolis-St. Paul being the home of 10,000. The Hmong are also very tied to their leader, General Vang Pao; and many in the United States, ignoring government and other authorities, have looked to him for decisions (Li, n.d.).

Like the Soviet Jews, who continue to make their way to the United States, the first wave of Vietnamese was urban, highly educated, an elite with better job qualifications than many Americans. A sample of 30,628 heads of household and 67,033 other evacuees 18 years and older showed secondary schooling for 75% and university or postgraduate education for 27% (Liu and Murata, 1977b).

At the other end of the continuum, many Hmong and Haitian refugees share a common characteristic: illiteracy. In a highly literate and urban world, both come from mountainous peasant cultures and speak languages that until recently were not even written. For many of both cultures, learning to read and write in English means learning to read and write for the first time (Vangyi, 1980; Jo Ann Crandall, personal conversation, Center for Applied Linguistics).

Cubans, of course, are both closer culturally to most Americans and ethnically similar to those Cubans who began arriving in the United States with the fall of Batista. But the experiences of this 1980 group over the past 20 years have differed in many subtle ways, such as being used to the provision of many basic life needs that are not given as a right in the United States. Evidence also suggests that the new group of Cuban refugees is less educated and skilled than were at least some of the waves of refugees fleeing Castro. Much has been made of the criminal record of some of this new group; but the main thing is that they are poor, working-class people. Probably about 40% are mulattos and blacks (Szapocznik, 1981).

IV. The Refugee Experience

> Of all the 36 alternatives, running away is best. (Taoist maxim, quoted in Barnes, 1977).

To begin to understand the refugees who have arrived in this country since the first wave of Vietnamese came in 1975, one needs to keep in mind not only their greatly various cultures of origin, but also their different refugee experiences.

While the popular press has run articles on the plight of Indochinese, Cuban, and Haitian "boat peoples," as well as conditions in various refugee camps, one of the common deficits of both the introductory materials for service agencies and sponsors and the scholarly literature on the "new refugees" has been the lack of information on their specific refugee experiences. It is as if the authors believed that knowing the cultures of these people's homelands were sufficient to understand the experiential background with which the refugees face their new lives. Yet the refugee experience itself, often protracted and nightmarish, is an important component in the newcomers' attitudes to their new home.

In one of the major analytical contributions to the refugee literature, Kunz (1973) divided refugee movements into either "anticipatory" or "acute," depending on the circumstances surrounding the flight. In anticipatory refugee movements, the refugees have the time to leave their homes in an orderly, well-prepared manner and even to set their sight on the new land. As with the Jews who left Germany in the early 1930s, they sense what is to come, rather than waiting for the holocaust. "Acute" refugee movements, on the other hand, are caused by massive political and military upheavals that cause the refugees to flee suddenly, en masse, in groups, or in bursts of individual escapees. Although anticipatory refugees can prepare more than acute refugees, and so may look more like voluntary migrants, both, in fact, are *pushed* from behind. Kunz suggests that the future adjustment of refugees can be related back to these two types of movements: anticipatory refugees, in his view, tend to make more satisfactory adjustments than do acute refugees.

Kunz' analytical distinctions have been the source of some discussion in the literature on Indochinese refugees. Cohon (1981) has noted that the categories may be too distinct. Montero (1979a and b) argues that, while Kunz's classification is useful, the refugee experience of the Vietnamese formed a unique combination of acute and anticipatory. Although the Vietnamese arrived in the United States with no preparation or concrete plans for the future, their education, high status, and working relationships with Americans while in Vietnam gave many an "anticipatory socialization," which was to be an advantage in their new country. Montero proposes to call this phenomenon "spontaneous internal migration," as an addendum to Kunz's model. Stein (forthcoming)

takes up the same issue in a review of Montero's book, maintaining, however, that Kunz's acute refugees, on closer reading, conform precisely to the description given by Montero of the more youthful and highly educated Vietnamese.

In a more recent analytical article, Kunz (1981) further characterizes refugees. Regardless of whether they are anticipatory or acute refugees, their social relations within their home country can be divided into three categories: those who identify themselves enthusiastically with the nation, although not with its government (majority-identified refugees); those whose marginality was latent or suppressed until the motivating events (events-alienated refugees); and those who have no wish to identify themselves with their nation, and their departure is a logical result of their long-standing alienation (self-alienated refugees). Using these and other home-related categories, in combination with displacement-related factors (from push to permit) and host-related factors, Kunz offers a number of hypotheses about the probabilities of successful resettlement for refugees with different experiences. Drawing on disaster research, Keller (1975) has also arrived at likely psychological consequences of the refugee state. In his view, refugees who flee late are likely to suffer from residual guilt (for loved ones lost), invulnerability (for having survived against odds), and aggressiveness (an outgrowth of the other two states). Depending on the social outlets available, this increased aggressiveness can be manifested in either a greater propensity to violence, suicide and crime or a willingness to take risks to build a new life.

Of all the refugees currently arriving in the United States, the Soviets probably have the least traumatic exits and are most likely to follow Kunz's model for anticipatory refugees. True, they may suffer a year or more of harassment while they await their exit visas, but they have time to plan their leave-taking, are met in countries of first asylum on individual bases, and are resettled into largely Jewish communities by Jewish agencies, both of whom have time to have made plans to receive them. In their social attitudes, they are also likely to conform to Kunz's "self-alienated" refugees and thus be willing to throw themselves into settling in their new country.

The flight of the first wave of Vietnamese conforms more to Kunz's model of acute refugee moments, although perhaps with Montero's caveat of "anticipatory socialization." For those who left with the fall of Saigon, their experience was one of rapid evacuation, often with as little as a few hours' forewarning (Liu et al., 1979). Largely Catholic, they had already fled to the south when North Vietnam became communist in 1954. Many had worked in government posts in the south or in connection with American forces. Their perilous, chaotic journey has been documented, as has their eventual, temporary resettlement in camps in the United States (Kelly, 1977; Liu et al., 1979). "The actual experience of having been 'caught' without warning and plans gave many a sense of having lost all the tools that other people have to solve their problems"

(Liu and Murata, 1977a). Yet, for those who left in 1975, "the persecution was brief and moderate, at worst, and the camp experience was brief (Stein, 1980b).

Later waves of Indochinese were often forced to endure much more protracted refugee states, however long their period of warning. Those Vietnamese who became the famous "boat people" suffered danger and hardship on the South China seas; they were joined by ethnic Chinese as flaring tensions with China exacerbated persecution within Vietnam. Many of these boat people then spent months or even years in refugee camps in Indochina, particularly in Thailand, as well as in Malaysia and Indonesia. According to Stein (1980b), there is a very strong possibility that by the failure to empty the camps swiftly, and thus prolonging this period of deprivation, the resettlement states are destroying or undermining the very qualities that might improve the refugees' prospects for successful resettlement. Currently in the United States, resettlement workers are noticing how much more difficult it is to work with the new arrivals compared to the 1975 wave. Of course, differences in social class, ethnic background, and experiences at home prior to becoming refugees compound the problems of understanding variations in behavior among the groups.

Also, the refugee period is not the whole story, as war and devastation may have intervened between the "normal" life and the moment of exodus. The Cambodians who arrive experienced the years from 1975 to 1979 under the Pol-Pot regime. During this period, their country became a collection of forced labor camps, intellectuals and teachers were murdered, all signs of culture (including schools) were demolished, and the cities were destroyed. There is probably not a single Cambodian refugee in the United States who can be certain that his entire family is still alive back home (Coleman, 1980a). In addition, most have spent years idle in refugee camps (Coleman, 1980a; *Refugees and Human Rights Newsletter*).

The Hmong's dislocation began with the American involvement in Southeast Asia. "Virtually all the tribal Hmong were involved in the war, acting as a major force in the northeast region of Laos," and 30,000 were killed in action for the United States during the 15 years of war (*IRR*, May 20, 1980). When the Pathet Lao took over Laos in 1975, the Hmong chose to resist. From their mountain retreats, they faced the government forces, enduring starvation and ultimately poisonous gas. Their route to survival has involved a walk of three weeks to a month from their mountain villages to the Mekong River at the border between Laos and Thailand. Old and young may well have died on the way. In Thailand, they are classified as illegal aliens and spend 30 days in an open-air detention center; then they are taken to a United Nations refugee camp where they may wait for a number of years before being resettled (Coleman, 1980a). Although most Americans may never have heard of the Hmong, because of their long sacrifices and years of

military assistance to the United States, many when they finally arrive in the United States feel that something is owed them.

Finally, the refugee experience has separated families throughout Southeast Asia and the Caribbean and caused a large number of unaccompanied minors to enter our country. From April 1975 to December 1978, for example, of the 175,000 Indochinese refugees admitted for resettlement, 800 were unaccompanied minors (Walter, 1979), Many of these minors are not children, but adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18, a difficult time even for young people living in stable environments. Similarly, of 78,000 Cubans admitted through the camps in 1980, 1,000 were unaccompanied minors, and several thousands more were single males with no accompanying relatives (Clark et al., 1980). Although more difficult to access, since many Haitians live in the United States illegally and are not registered with the INS, unaccompanied minors and single males also constitute a large proportion of this population (Badillo-Veiga et al., 1979). There is little information thus far on what are probably a variety of motivations in these young people's choice to become refugees. One investigation, of the Indochinese youths, describes them as having made "semi-self-chosen decisions" (Walter, 1979). However, whether they are Indochinese or Caribbean, depression and anger seem near the surface, particularly during their stay in the camps (Walter, 1979; Schey, 1980). And their resettlement has often been more complicated than that of families, involving boarding and halfway houses, foster homes, and other creative solutions (Walter, 1979).

V. The Refugee Camps

For the refugees, the camp experience appears as part of the "transition to nowhere," a stage in the long process that begins with flight and has no certain ending (Kunz, 1973; Liu et al., 1979; Liu and Murata, 1978a). Beginning in 1975, Indochinese, Cubans, and some Haitians have all been processed in camps before their resettlement in local communities. The military operated four camps for the Indochinese between April and December 1975: Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, Fort Chafee in Arkansas, Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania, and Fort Pendleton in California. A total of 130,000 Indochinese entered the United States through these camps. In 1980, several of the same camps were opened once again—also operated by the military—to house Cubans from the Mariel exodus. About 115,000 Cubans were processed through Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, Fort Chafee in Arkansas, Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania, and Fort McCoy in Wisconsin. In the case of the Haitians, the camps' functions have been more ambiguous, as they have also been detention centers that might return their inmates to their home country. Those Haitians not evading the immigration authorities altogether have been processed through Krome North in Miami, Florida, and, more

recently, through Fort Allen in Puerto Rico (*IRR*, August 7, 1981).

In addition to these camps inside the United States and Puerto Rico, Indochinese have spent time in camps in Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Currently, a number of Indochinese are processed through a camp in the Philippines.

From the viewpoint of the receiving nation, there are several rationales for the camps. First, they place refugees in a stable situation in which the regular immigration processing, including health checks, can occur. When refugees wish to stay in their country of first asylum, as occurred with the 1975 wave of Indochinese and the Mariel exodus of Cubans, such camps are the only holding ground the country has in which to make immigration decisions.

Second, camps are supposed to provide refugees with their initial acquaintance with their new country while food, shelter, and medical care are taken care of. Local camp newspapers, English-language classes, movies, and talks, all are intended to begin to acculturate the refugees to their new environment. However, the little existing research on these programs indicates that they are neither well done nor very effective (Kelly, 1978; Stein, 1980a and b). Also, because the camps for the Cubans were never meant to remain open for more than a few months, no English classes were offered until October 1980, a delay of six months (Stein, 1980b, and Stein, personal communication).

Although the news media have been filled with stories of camp life, and there are also a few scholarly descriptions, Stein, in his review of the research, considers the refugee camps the most poorly documented stage of the refugee experience (Stein, 1980b). From the scholarly evaluations of camp life for Vietnamese and Cubans (Liu and Murata, 1978a and b; Schey, 1980; Stein, 1980b; Tung, 1975), the following points stand out:

1. Food, clothing, and shelter were adequate, and physical health needs well served, although overcrowding and a lack of privacy were common.
2. There was a lack of coordination among federal as well as voluntary agencies.
3. While a whole population of "experts" in the cultures of the refugees was available, input was rarely called for. For the most, Americans decided by themselves what the inmates might want or need.
4. Few jobs were allocated to camp inmates, and a problem of idleness tended to create low morale. (In the case of the Cubans, this resulted in outbreaks of violence.)
5. The isolation enforced between inmates and citizens of neighboring communities acted against any rationale of providing a beginning contact with the new culture. (In 1944 to 1946, when camps were established for European refugees, the inmates were allowed to leave to visit the surrounding communities.)

6. Mental health needs of the refugees were not taken seriously (including their need to be active in their own destiny), and there was no real attempt to understand differences in cultural values that might make assimilation a problem.

VI. Experiencing a New Culture

Just as refugees experience culture shock and dislocation when they arrive on the shores of a new country, the people of the country taking them in experience anxiety, discomfort, and bewilderment in the face of the newcomers. This mutual apprehension and confusion is the more severe the more distant and different the two cultures. And the misunderstandings may be particularly painful, as with the U.S. citizens and Indochinese, when there have been no previous contacts to pave the way.

On the American side, the formal, government response to the "new refugees" is connected to, but separate from, the informal responses of U.S. citizens. The Vietnamese began arriving in the United States at a time when a recession was making life significantly more difficult for most Americans. Jobs were scarce (official unemployment was at 9%) and food and housing costly. Moreover, most Americans were at least ambivalent about the protracted war in Indochina, and polls indicated a reluctance to receive refugees from the war-torn area. Also, many Americans still held a lingering prejudice toward Asians (Montero, 1979a and b; Liu and Murata, 1978b). Given these economic and social conditions, the formal U.S. policy was to try to scatter the refugees throughout the United States in such a way that their presence would make little impact on any one community (Barnes, 1977; Liu and Murata, 1978b). In the best of circumstances, these refugees from the other side of the world and extremely different ways of life would simply fade into the community. They would become an unidentifiable part of the American way.

In fact, the decision to disperse the refugees—a first in American immigration history—has become "one of the most widely criticized aspects of the 1975 Indochinese refugee program" (Stein, 1980a). That this goal of dispersal has not been achieved will become evident throughout the remainder of the paper. Because of criticism, as well as "secondary migrations" caused by the dispersal program, in 1981 a new "cluster" resettlement project was initiated by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies and the Cambodian Association of America at the request of the Office of Refugee Resettlement. This new program will attempt to resettle Cambodians in groups of 300 to 1,000 in 10 to 15 cities throughout the country that already have established Cambodian communities (1981 *World Refugee Survey*).

Meanwhile, informal contacts with American people have contained

all the elements of culture shock on both sides. Vietnamese refugees who arrived to be resettled in the Midwest, for example, were often invited to attend churches of their sponsors. Coming from a largely Buddhist tradition, where religion is not an either/or commitment, they visited churches with perfect calm, feeling that they were being good guests and were merely adding to the richness of their own cultural life. But their sponsors soon became upset and mistrustful when their church attendance did not lead to joining or conversion (Khoa, 1980a). In another example, which has reached the popular press (see, for example, Arden, 1981), as well as received some scholarly attention (Starr, 1981), a large group of Vietnamese have formed a "secondary migration" along the Gulf Coast, particularly in West Florida. Here they can earn a living in traditional occupations in the fishing trades. But this influx of fisherfolk has caused a number of misunderstandings on both sides. Hired Vietnamese have often felt exploited by the large fishing companies and have worked to get their own fleets, at the same time as American boat owners have been angered by the Vietnamese's very different notions of boat upkeep, sea manners, and other fishing habits. Partly because of economic pressures in an already overcrowded industry, shootings have occurred, and, ironically, the Ku Klux Klan accused Vietnamese fishermen of "Communist infiltration" (Arden).

The process of acquainting Americans and refugees with each other has also gone on through a great variety of published materials. Over the past six years, multitudes of bilingual pamphlets and brochures have been prepared to introduce Indochinese, as well as Cubans and Haitians, to the country where they are arriving. Although many private and public agencies have begun to collect these materials, there is as yet no central depository where all documents are collected, nor has there been any serious overall evaluation of their worth. Stein, in his review of resettlement programs and techniques (1980a), notes that

> Few people tell refugees the truth. Few have the ability to tell a newly arrived unfortunate of the rough road ahead. Instead we fill their heads and our hearts with Horatio Alger stories. Refugee camp newspapers have regular features on "Success Stories" and no mention of hard times. Everyone is comforting and reassuring, telling of other immigrants or relatives who made it, and no one plays the role of the crusty old uncle pointing out the hard work and times before "making it" and "it" looks better in romantic hindsight than it did at the time.
>
> Nowhere in our orientation materials is a realistic picture presented to the refugees. Most refugees receive few orientation materials. Much of the orientation material reaches the refugee through the intermediary of the sponsor, who can be expected to generously and warmheartedly dilute the mild message offered. (p. 69-70)

The sole detailed content evaluation of orientation materials, to my knowledge, is a critical evaluation of introductory adult-education English-language materials and classes held at Fort Indiantown Gap, one

of the four refugee camps used while the 1975 wave of Vietnamese awaited sponsors. According to Kelly (1978), both the introductory instructional materials and the teachers showed great inconsistencies in their view of Vietnamese, as well as U.S. society. At times, the refugees were to look forward to middle-class life-styles, with homes and cars, while at other times their futures were much more limited. Although many refugee women worked in Vietnam before fleeing, they were excluded from the English classes, supposedly in order not to infringe upon the patriarchal order of Vietnamese society. At the same time, the male students learned from some English materials that such occupations as being a typist or a seamstress (jobs usually held by women in this society) would be suitable to them. One set of materials only mentioned women as keeping house and winning beauty contests.

As refugees have had to move from camps to sponsors in the process of resettlement, a great deal of material has also been directed to sponsors and service providers about the refugees' cultures of origin. Much of this has been produced by the 11 largely religious affiliated voluntary agencies (VOLAGs) primarily responsible for the initial stages of resettlement. Some show a strange simplification of war and puppet regimes in their explanation of Vietnamese government prior to 1975 as "a democracy," while there is a tendency in the other direction with materials for sponsors of Cubans; here, the last, relatively more placid period of Cuban history is described in terms of the highly charged words, "fascism" and "Communism." But like the materials for the refugees, these pamphlets and brochures vary enormously in their grasp of Indochinese and Caribbean societies and the complexities of the refugee experience. There is, so far as I know, no central housing for all these documents, nor has there been any systematic evaluation of them. However, a recent publication, *Refugee Orientation: Program Components and Models of Orientation for Refugees, Sponsors and Service Providers* (Indochina Refugee Action Center, February 1981), brings together the wisdom of a number of practitioners in an attempt to standardize and presumably upgrade these documents.

Again, little is known, except through anecdotal materials, of the actual contacts made between refugees and their sponsors. The best study of this phase of resettlement is by Barnes (1977), which, although anecdotal, still attempts to cover the wide variety of sponsors of Indochinese refugees, including city, state, church, families, and employers. According to Barnes, and this is substantiated by others, the most problematic sponsors were employers, who took on the refugees largely as pools of cheap labor; and the refugees often left in indignation before the sponsorship period was over. Another hitch in the sponsorship occurred as a result of the scatter policy. Indochinese living in isolated, rural communities or northern climates were likely to hurt their sponsors, who certainly meant as well as those in more suitable areas, by leaving to join friends and kin in more temperate climates where new communities were

beginning (Wright, 1981).

The single study on motivations for sponsorship indicates the importance of decreased cultural distance in willingness to reach out to refugees. Mortenson (1981) compared the rate of sponsorship of Indochinese among the 50 states of the Union. According to his findings, seven factors correlated with a higher tendency toward sponsorship:

—a greater proportion of the state's population was Oriental before the refugee influx

—a positive net secondary migration of Indochinese refugees existed in the state

—the states themselves chose to become sponsors

—a greater proportion of educated adult women existed in the states

—statehood was more recent

—a greater proportion of eligible voters voted in the last presidential election

—there was higher urbanization in the state

With the exception of recency of statehood, all these factors point to decreased cultural distance, either through greater personal contact or increased knowledge and sophistication. But the study also indicates that it is not only the refugees who have acted against the scatter policy. Rather, sponsors themselves become part of the forces that cluster refugees in areas which already house numbers of them.

VII. Pluralism: The Challenge of Educational Policies and Programs

> [T]his melting-pot concept is no longer valid in terms of cultural significance. Beauty and creativity consist in diversity, not in uniformity. We can demand to be equal, but we cannot and should not want to be alike. In so far as we can fulfill our aspirations for freedom and equality, our cultural differences can only contribute to the beauty and creativity of the American nation. (Khoa, 1980a)

A policy issue that explicitly or covertly permeates all the educational programs for refugees is that of how they are expected to become a part of U.S. society. Will they blend into America, or will they retain their own values? Or will something new evolve that is in between? Gordon (1964), who has written a comprehensive work on assimilation in American life, outlines three models: (1) host conformity: the refugee becomes like the native, completely accepting the dominant culture; (2)

the melting pot: both native and refugee are changed and merged into a supposedly new and better alloy; and (3) cultural pluralism: the refugee acculturates to the dominant pattern, particularly in public areas of politics and work, but preserves his or her communal life and much of his or her culture. As Stein (1981) has noted, these three models "differ greatly in the demands they place on refugees and in their attitude toward the refugee culture."

In fact, most of the refugee literature is in accord that neither host conformity nor the melting pot are plausible alternatives. Particularly when race is involved, the refugee cannot disappear into likeness, even if he or she should adopt all native ways. Moreover, the melting pot, a less stringent goal, has not worked even among immigrants from European nations.

Looking at possible cultural adjustment models from the viewpoint of the refugees, Khoa (1980b) outlines three different patterns: (1) the old-line pattern (commonly found among the elderly), in which the new culture appears as a "menace" to their old system of values; (2) the assimilative pattern, in which adults, as well as children, speak English at home, adopt American life-styles, socialize only among Americans, and precipitously reject their old cultural background; and (3) the bicultural pattern, in which the individual preserves "traditional values and beliefs, while acquiring new values and practices prerequisite for a successful life in the new society." Obviously, Gordon's pluralism and Khoa's bicultural pattern are two sides of the same model. In acknowledgment of the pluralistic goal of U.S. society, Khoa describes biculturalism as the most suitable pattern for newcomers adapting to the United States.

That there is some ambivalence over the ideal of pluralism at the national level is seen by the uneven and shifting nature of funding for programs in bilingual and multicultural education. But before I discuss these programmatic difficulties, the outline of funding must first be described.

The Refugee Act of 1980 authorized "funding for supplemental educational assistance to meet the special educational needs of refugee children, and to enhance their transition into American society" (USDOE, 1981). In addition, "Cuban-Haitian Entrant" children, funded under an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, are eligible for parallel programs and services. The Refugee Children Assistance Staff in the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs of the Department of Education coordinates programs for both Indochinese and Cuban/Haitian children. These include testing, special English language instruction, bilingual education, remedial programs, and special materials and supplies. In 1981, a total of 164,471 children were served under these two programs: 113,518 were Indochinese children, 25,841 were other refugee children (Soviet Jews and others), and 25,112 were Cuban and Haitian children (USDOE, 1981).

Because the various refugee groups have tended to cluster, certain

cities have taken responsibility for large numbers of their children. One of the school systems most pressed has been the Dade County public schools. In 1980, this school system absorbed 14,000 Cuban and 865 Haitian schoolchildren. Although materials existed for the Cubans, and many teachers were well acquainted with the culture and bilingual in Spanish there was little preparation for Creole-speaking children (Braziel, 1981). However, a Title IX Ethnic Heritage Project on the contributions of Haitians to American communities, developed in previous years, was used for the newcomers (Dade County Public Schools, 1981), and teachers extemporized on much of the rest.

Over the past several years, an enormous range of innovative bilingual, bicultural, and ESL (English as a second language) materials has sprung up to meet the needs of Indochinese, Cuban, and Haitian children. Because of the illiteracy problems of Haitians and Hmong, for example, the Center for Applied Linguistics has developed learning materials that rely heavily on tapes. Some research is also being conducted on whether literacy in one's own language helps in learning a second language (Li, n.d.). But until such a relationship is established, there are no special funds to teach either Hmong or Haitian students. In Corvallis, Oregon, 2,000 Hmong students are enrolled in the college ESL programs; 40% began as illiterate, and many did not even know there was such a thing as a written language before they left their homes (Li, n.d.) Such a situation demands a great deal of innovativeness if compassion and respect for the original culture are to be upheld at the same time as learning is efficiently promoted.

In contrast to other areas of refugee documents, in the sphere of educational resources there are several central depositories, including the Center for Applied Linguistics and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Language and Linguistics, both housed in the same facility in Washington, D.C. Bilingual, bicultural, and ESL materials processed through ERIC also become part of a nationwide microfiche system available in most public libraries. Scattered, small-scale testing of the effectiveness of isolated programs has also been conducted.

However, in a brief review of educational programs for Indochinese refugee children, McGlauflin (1980) points out that the model of pluralism may, in fact, not be fully supported by the federal government.

> While ESL monies are available on a formula basis for schools with Indochinese students, bilingual program monies are discretionary. Thus, initiative for providing bilingual services rests with the local school district and existing federal guidelines cannot insure standardization of program availability or quality at this time. (p. 8)

McGlauflin also notes that the need for cross-cultural counseling for students remains unmet. She concludes that, "The underlying concern common to all these programs is with 'Americanization' with a minimum of disturbance to the status quo" (p. 4).

In adult-education programs, where language instruction has a sur-

vival aspect, the pluralist images are generally shelved in favor of the pragmatic goal of self-sufficiency in the world of the market. However, a serious, large-scale study of the content of classroom materials and interactions, as well as counseling, for children and adults is yet to be done.

A problem addressed by several investigators concerned with education for refugees is that of the conflict engendered between children and adults (and particularly between children and old people) as the children begin to learn American ways (McGlauflin, 1980; Bliatout, 1979; Yao, 1979; Li, n.d.). With the Indochinese, where age confers authority, the overturning of this authority as the children become brokers of the new culture is particularly hard for all involved. McGlauflin suggests the useful but rather limited solution of cross-cultural counseling to ease this age-old difficulty.

Among schoolchildren, as well as adults in evening schools, the problems of generational or social-class conflict may even emerge in the same class. This has been the case when various waves of Indochinese were placed together (Burmark and Kim, 1978) and when different ages of adults were put in the same ESL classes. Bliatout (1979) and Li (n.d.) note that it is important not to humiliate adults by putting them in the same English-language classes as younger adults or children, before whom they can so easily lose face.

VIII. Employment and Sociocultural Adjustment of the Refugees

> Generally, refugees should be viewed, not as dependent populations, but rather as persons who are temporarily unemployed who need specialized types of support systems, such as language training, cultural orientation, and the ability to transfer skills from their former socioeconomic system to that of the U.S. (Taft et al., 1979, p. 148)

> Resettlement, as the material task of adapting to the new milieu, is very much on [the refugees'] minds, whereas adjustment proper, which implies the psychological and social adaptation to the life change, is often ignored or dismissed as unimportant or even as a non-issue. Their position, in substance, is that survival is the real problem while adjustment shall come naturally without any difficulty, especially since they never questioned the necessity of conforming and adjusting to the environment. (Tung, 1979, p. 4)

One of the first concerns of most government groups, resettlement agencies, sponsors, and refugees is to ensure that each refugee family has its own means of support. This priority stems from two reasons: first, the

knowledge that in this economically tight period, most people's responses to refugees are partially dependent on their not being a social burden; second, the understanding that self-support is, in fact, one of the primary sources of the refugees' own sense of successful resettlement. Because the issues of employment and socioeconomic adjustment demand a year or two to evolve into researchable entities, this section, of necessity, is based solely on Indochinese refugees.

An argument that flows through the Indochinese refugee settlement literature, and that probably admits of no correct resolution for all cases, is whether learning English or getting a job is a more important first step. As far as the refugee's side is concerned, Stein (1979, p. 27) argues that "occupational and economic adjustment tends to lead to socio-cultural adjustment by refugees," while Montero (1979a, p. 626) reports findings that "acculturation of the refugee is more dependent upon English language proficiency than any other factor." In general, refugees are encouraged to take whatever employment they can get, even if they were highly trained at home and the job offered is blue-collar work at a minimum wage. English and vocational training programs have also often been combined in order to facilitate refugees' entry into the labor market (*IRR*, August 21, 1979; Stein, 1980a). However, the question of jobs versus English or other skills arises when, as in the case of the Hmong, there is a particular handicap in learning English rapidly, or when employment is deferred and the refugee supports himself or herself partially or wholly on public assistance while upgrading employment credentials.

Stein, in his review of resettlement programs and techniques (1980b, pp. 55-56), recommends three stages. In the first, English language programs should be "combined with vocational orientation and general orientation, aimed at making the refugee job-ready as soon as possible, in approximately six weeks to six months. During this period the refugee may be supported by his sponsor or public assistance." The second stage should be a period of employment, "to get work experience and a work record, to have the acculturation opportunities that exist even with menial jobs, to instill pride and independence, and to improve one's language ability to a level of training-readiness." Only in the third stage, which Stein suggests for two or three years after arrival, should the refugee look toward vocational training. This gives the refugee a chance to acculturate and to survey the labor market so that he or she can make a wise vocational choice. The argument against immediate vocational training may be supported by a study of 3,000 refugees who participated in early vocational training programs. Of these, only 600 were placed in permanent full-time jobs, and "the starting salaries for persons completing vocational training programs is about the same as starting salaries of those placed on jobs without any specific training" (*IRR*, August 12, 1981, p. 5).

In fact, vocational training programs for refugees have been limited.

Programs have been established to help doctors and dentists convert their diplomas into U.S. certification, since such skills are deemed invaluable to the country. But other than in the medical sphere, training programs have been almost entirely for blue-collar work (Stein, 1979).

Several studies have now been completed that document the first years of socioeconomic adjustment of Vietnamese refugees. Five telephone surveys were conducted for HEW by Opportunity Systems, Inc., between August 1975 and August 1977 and were made available to researchers. Montero (1979a and b), who studied Vietnamese refugee adaptation through these five telephone surveys, presents the most optimistic view of refugees' success in the labor market. Fewer than one in three households were receiving public assistance of any kind by his final survey. Moreover, employment for both men and women had improved "steadily and significantly" over the two-year period. In the fifth survey, employment among men had increased to 95% and among women to 93%. Montero's information also indicated that employment was at all times positively associated with English proficiency.

That Montero's employment figures neglect the complications of underemployment becomes clear when one reviews the findings of other research. Many individuals whom Montero considered employed were working only part time and for extremely low wages. Moreover, as several studies indicate, the refugees were experiencing severe downward mobility (Stein, 1979; Taft et al., 1979; Finnan, 1981). Stein's analysis (1979) considers the major categories of employment by the refugees in Vietnam before fleeing, as well as in the United States. While a third had been professionals in Vietnam, 15% managers, and 23% in clerical and sales, for a total of 71% in white-collar positions, only 7% retained their professional rank, 2% their roles as managers, and 19% their employment in clerical and sales, for a total of 28% in white-collar jobs.

In a study of Vietnamese in Santa Clara County, California, Finnan (1981) documents the importance of community in redefining what is a good job. The Vietnamese in her study worked in the electronics industry, which might easily be called boring and hazardous to one's health; yet the community determined the work as clean, white collar, and open to advancement. Their definition of the work enabled them to have a sense of success. In Finnan's words, this was a "process of molding an image to fit a role, while also molding an image of the role to fit one's self image" (p. 295).

The socioeconomic adaptation of Indochinese refugees has also been compared with that of other refugee groups. Noting that the Vietnamese refugees came from a greatly different culture and level of economic development, had no established ethnic community here to assist them, and entered the economy at a time when it was in relatively poor condition, Stein (1979) contrasts the progress of the Vietnamese with that of earlier refugees. His data indicate that three years after resettlement the Vietnamese "are doing much worse than. . .the 1956 Hungarian refugees

after four years, and the refugees from Nazism after four to eight years. They appear to have done as well as or better than the Cuban refugees after four to six years" (p. 36).

In another study, Simon (1980) focused more on family relationships and refugee children's aspirations and expectations. Her findings indicate that the parents' thwarted aspirations might already be transferred onto their children. Although only 62% of the Russian fathers and 42% of the Vietnamese fathers were working full time, there was a great deal of solidarity within the family, and the children were seen to share the same high aspirations for themselves as their parents had for them. The adolescent children of both groups were attending schools and had high aspirations and expectations for the future. "Most of them want to pursue careers in engineering, computers, medicine, and the sciences, and are currently enrolled or plan to enroll in schools that will allow them to achieve their goals" (p. 55).

Finally, there has been an attempt among researchers to define stages in the adaptation of refugees to their new homeland. These stages may be economic, social, or emotional. Although the three are interrelated, they are generally separated by the authors, and no one has yet attempted to describe their interaction analytically and to form a more generic model. Stein (1980a) goes the farthest in this direction, in relating some emotional shifts to changes in occupational and social life. Because the largest body of research exists on emotional adustment, I present this in a separate section.

For Stein (1980a), there are four basic periods in the refugees' adjustment: (1) the initial arrival period of the first few months; (2) the first and second years; (3) after four to five years; and (4) a decade or more later. In his study of occupational adjustment (1979, p. 42), Stein relates these stages to occupational adjustment:

> A refugee group is likely to have a higher educational background and higher occupational status than is typical of its homeland. Its initial employment experiences in the country of resettlement are likely to produce a severe drop in occupational status. At first, most refugees will be highly motivated to attempt to improve their initial status and to return to their original status. During the first four years of resettlement the group will experience a great amount of upward mobility but it will not be sufficient to offset the initial plunge in occupational status. For the remainder of the first decade of resettlement the refugee group will continue to experience upward mobility but at a declining pace as the initial motivation to return to original occupations declines in the face of continued difficulties and obstacles. At the end of the first decade the group will have lower occupational status than it did in its homeland.

A number of scholars have also described the process of socially adapting to the new land (see Stein, 1981). Eisenstadt (1954), for example, divides the process into four stages: (1) learning the new language, norms, roles and customs; (2) learning to perform many new roles and to

handle many new situations; (3) developing new values, a new self-image and identity; and (4) changing the focus of one's participation from ethnic group institutions to those of the host society.

Kelly (1977) and Skinner and Hendricks (1979) have pointed out how, from the viewpoint of the society, refugees must shift their identity away from that of refugee. Kelly focuses on the early period: "Vietnamese came to this country as refugees with their roots in Vietnamese history and culture. Within a year they had become immigrants who had begun a series of painful adjustments to living permanently in the United States" (p. 191). (In Kunz's terms, these newcomers had shifted from being pushed to being pulled.) Skinner and Hendricks carry the process in shifting identity a step farther. In their analysis of the negotiations the Vietnamese must make with American institutions, particularly public ones, they illustrate how the refugees are gradually forced to give up that appellation and to take on, instead, the somewhat stigmatized identity of "ethnic minority."

IX. Emotional Adjustment of Refugees: Problems and Solutions

> Several months ago, a H'Mong family was placed in a small town in Iowa where there were few refugees and no other H'Mong. The husband grieved for his parents, left behind in a refugee camp in Thailand. After seven weeks in America, he attempted to hang himself and his four children. One of his sons died. No one is precisely sure what happened to this family. (Coleman, 1980a, p. 7)
>
> The traditional cultural patterns of family loyalty and interdependence, as well as personal restraint, have inhibited the use of mental health services and prevented any accurate assessment of the full range and scope of Indochinese refugees' mental health needs. Enough is known, however, to aseert that while the mental health services may be under-used, Indochinese refugees are experiencing considerable emotional troubles in making the adjustment to American life. (Robinson, 1980, p. 31).

Previous sections have reviewed some of the stresses and traumas inflicted on refugees as they escape the turmoil of their homelands and move toward resettlement in the United States. War, hunger, the chaos and danger of escape, the loss of family left behind, the boredom and powerlessness of refugee life—all these leave their marks, if only deep in the emotional fabric of the refugee. Moreover, once in their new home, loss of status, identity confusion, generational conflict, language dif-

ficulties, poverty, concern for family members lost or left at home, guilt, isolation, prejudice and hostility in the new land, and many other factors work as new pressures on the refugee's state of mind.

There are strong indications that the emotional adjustment of refugees follows a pattern that relates to, although need not coincide with, other aspects of adaptation. Kealey (1978) reviews the research of others, as well as his own data on cross-cultural adaptation. According to his findings, there is a "modified U curve," in which the newcomer may begin as somewhat tense and fearful, then move to elation around three months, followed by a plummeting between three and nine months, and a return to "normal" between nine and sixteen months. That this is not the end of the story, however, is seen from the data collected by psychiatrists at the International Institute of San Francisco, one of the mental health projects funded for Indochinese refugees. Their research indicates depression in 92% of those Bay Area refugees who had been in the United States for more than two and a half years. According to them, "after an initial period of adjustment during which basic needs predominate, refugees' psychological problems related to loss begin to appear with increasing frequency" (quoted in Robinson, 1980, p. 33).

Baskauskas (1981) focuses on the working out of grief in the psychological adaptation of refugees. Using research on Lithuanian refugees, three stages are outlined. The first, conservatism, may last for years, and is a failure to realize that the departure from home was final. The second stage is bereavement; here the person may mourn or even "mummify" the lost land. Particularly where the regimes have changed drastically, the individual may seem irreconcilable for what has been lost. The final stage, innovation, is characterized by attempts to reconnect with the native country in new ways, such as through immigrant or ethnic societies.

It is also important to understand how powerful a role large social and political factors may play in the emotional adjustment of refugees, whatever their stage of assimilation. Szapocznik (1981, p. 2), in his analysis of mental health problems among the Mariel boatlift Cubans in their early stages of arrival, begins by discussing how these refugees became the focus of a conflict between the "parental forces" of the United States and Cuba. Then, "as triangulated children will do, [they] began to manifest the symptoms and disorders of the role." The psychological problems of Haitians have been related to "antagonistic communities and prejudice," aggravated further by their uncertain legal status. Played off in the international politics between Haiti and the United States, " 'They have this constant fear of deportation, of not knowing where they will be next' " (Veciana-Suarez, 1981). Again, the legacy of the war in Indochina faces those refugees here. Particularly in the initial stages before Indochinese have become known in their communities, there is a resistance by many Americans to face those who bring memories of a war left behind. And hostility and negative attitudes

toward Asians, long a part of our tradition, have added to the psychological stress among the Indochinese, often slowing their acculturation (Stein, 1980a; Coleman, 1980a; Vangyi, 1980).

The prevalence of occupation-related emotional stress is mentioned in most of the literature on mental health of the "new refugees" (Coleman, 1980a and b; Robinson, 1980; Stein, 1980a and b). This stress, which begins almost immediately, stems from a number of interrelated phenomena. Among the most commonly cited are the temporariness and difficulty of the work and the lack of opportunities for advancement.

Stein (1979) notes that, because of the severe downward mobility of those who worked in good positions in Vietnam, these individuals have actually had more difficulty adjusting to the United States than have those refugees who had blue-collar jobs or worked as craftsmen in their home country. Others confirm these findings. In a study of 350 well-settled Vietnamese refugees, the younger, better educated men and women generally earned more money, had fewer traditional Vietnamese attitudes than their poorer countrymen—and had more physical and mental problems. "The gap between the immigrants' economic and psychological well-being may be the result of their higher expectations," according to Starr, one of the sociologists conducting the study (Starr and Roberts, 1980).

In another study, conducted among recently arrived Chinese Vietnamese refugees in Los Angeles, clinical depression was found to be significantly related to under- and unemployment. Here again, those who came from working-class backgrounds tended to be better adjusted than those who had worked in white-collar positions. Yet for all the refugees studied, even when compared with other difficult aspects of their lives (such as family left behind), unemployment appeared to be the most powerful inducement of depression (Yamamato et al., n.d.).

Although the everyday problems faced in the United States tend to show up first as the cause of emotional difficulty, later—sometimes years later—a deeper problem may begin to emerge, which has been called "survivor guilt" or the "survivor syndrome" (Robinson, 1980; Coleman, 1980b). The survivor syndrome is exactly what it implies: an inability to understand why one has survived, and sorrow, guilt, depression, and anger for those who have been left in perilous circumstances. Although some refugees have manifested survivor guilt or the survivor syndrome, indications from refugees of the Nazis suggest that the effects of survival will emerge more acutely over the years (Epstein, 1979).

The actual number of refugees with emotional difficulties is impossible to estimate. First, because of cultural differences, there is a reluctance on the part of the new refugees to seek help. At the same time, those who do may be reported by more than one agency (Bureau, 1979). Second, many emotional stresses appear psychosomatically as physical symptoms. Fatigue, dizziness, weight loss, nausea, headaches, chest pains, respiratory ailments, skin problems, and insomnia have all been reported

by the Indochinese (Robinson, 1980; Webster, 1979).

However, among those who manifest emotional problems, the most prevalent is depression (Bureau, 1979; Robinson, 1980). Next in order of frequency are anxiety reactions, marital conflict, intergenerational conflict, and school adjustment problems (Robinson, 1980). Several researchers also note the prevalence of anger among refugees, but add that, while it may appear as an emotional problem, it is also likely to lead to more progress than a passive or benign attitude (Stein, 1980a; Webster, 1979).

There is some questioning in the literature as to whether the refugee experience itself creates certain undeniable symptoms, or whether there are predispositions in individuals that become manifest as a result of the experience. In the case of the Mariel Cubans, there has been a special attempt to sort out those individuals who had psychological difficulties before leaving Cuba from those who suffer them now as a result of their refugee experience (Veciana-Suarez, 1981). Stein (1980a, p. 21), who discusses the controversy between the theorists of "situational responses" versus "characterological responses," leans toward the former. Still, he notes that "those already experiencing difficulties or marginality in their home societies are likely candidates to experience mental health problems due to the stresses they are experiencing as refugees."

The categories of refugees considered "high risk" indicate the importance of social ties to emotional well-being. "Single refugees, those from separated families, divorced or widowed women as household heads, refugees in rural areas, and other refugees in a lonely, isolated situation lacking company, community, and support have all been identified as high risk" (Stein, 1980a, p. 22). Much the same point is made by Coleman (1980b, p. 7):

> From a study conducted by the Pennsylvania Office of Mental Health in the summer of 1979, it is clear that refugees isolated from their families and their own ethnic communities face great adjustment difficulties. Those who are surrounded by their relatives and friends, as well as ethnic enclave, appear to adjust more quickly. The study also shows that refugees who belong to ethnic groups which have relatively fewer members resettled in the United States (e.g., the Khmer, H'Mong, etc.) have more difficulty adjusting than do groups which are heavily represented in this country (such as the Vietnamese).

Robinson (1980) and the Bureau of Research and Training (1979) also note the importance of family and community ties.

Robinson adds various age groups most likely to suffer stress. His findings indicate that, because they are likely to be single and unattached, refugees between 19 and 35 are most vulnerable to depression and anxiety. Another vulnerable group are those between 36 and 55, where family conflict and depression may be the symptoms. Robinson also notes the particular vulnerability of children, who find themselves in

the unfamiliar role of instructor or translator, and then may suffer from the risky situation of a breakdown in family authority. Coleman (1980b) adds the difficulties of the elderly, for whom the depression of isolation and loneliness are common. As one Hmong expressed it, " 'They feel helpless, and without hope, cut off from society' " (p. 8).

Between 1976 and 1980, federal funds were available for mental health services to the Indochinese. However, along with many other social services, these were cut in the last year. Perhaps the curtailment of such services seemed justified to those who made the decision, given the reluctance of Indochinese to use traditional social service agencies and methods to mend their mental health problems. But investigators writing in the field point out the importance of using bilingual staff and developing "cross-cultural models" in the treatment of Indochinese, as well as Cuban and Haitian refugees (Robinson, 1980; Szapocznik, 1981; Arocha, 1981).

Probably the most effective way to assist any refugee with emotional difficulties is through a preventative approach. The importance of social ties to an emotionally adjusted refugee population should be taken seriously. This includes strong and broad family ties, as well as ties to the larger community (Finnan, 1981; Haines and Vinh, 1981). Over the years, many Indochinese communities have developed vigorous mutual assistance associations, which provide a variety of community services, including entertainment, job networks, educational instruction, and social services. Mutual assistance associations have also been used to house mental facilities. But even when they do not direct themselves specifically to psychological treatment of refugees, their very existence serves as a focus for community solidarity (Bui et al., 1981). Although many mutual assistance associations now receive federal or foundation funding, they are also a way for refugees to help themselves to become integrated into their enclave, and thus also into the larger society.

The route from refugee, to immigrant, to ethnic minority is fraught with difficulties, as this paper has tried to show. Perhaps, in sum, only one thing ought to be said:

> When people leave there is an incredible apprehension about what lies ahead. Once gone there is anxiety and often there is guilt about what is left behind. Most of all there is loneliness. In the end, how refugees cope with the trauma of exile, with inevitable loneliness and irredeemable loss, is largely dependent upon the kindness of others. (Rose, 1981, p. 10)

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